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Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in.

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information.

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance.

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants 621
—Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin 613
English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the 124
exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the 123 •
Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to 829
indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the his- 648
tory of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being 175
white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first 829
conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rum- 829
bima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the 123
spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes 114
on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had fre-. quently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer. [625]

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829 visits to Mar's house. They had never seen me without shoes
• 123 on, however, and when they saw my white feet they shud-
114 dered and turned away, indicating strong revulsion and horror. Mar told me afterward that the girls were sure that I was a ghost after they had seen my feet.

648 Another event that was important in determining the atti-
175 tude of the Kwoma toward Europeans took place in 1928. Two Australian police boys, while foraging for food at Hongwam, met and raped two Hongwam housewives. The husbands and relatives of these women attacked and killed the two police boys. When the Australian officer in charge of the district discovered the murders, he visited the tribe with a squadron of police boys, killed about twenty of the natives,[28] cut down their orchards, and burned their house tamberans. The natives who escaped fled into the bushes and swamps. The patrol officer built a house and stayed with his entourage until he had enticed the natives to return to their territory and had established order. During this time he tried to make clear to the natives that they had been punished for homicide and that, if they had grievances, they should bring their case to the "government" and not take the law into their own hands. He also let it be known that the Australian government was ready to punish anyone convicted of head-hunting or sorcery. Despite this warning, the Hongwam carried
[721] out a successful head-hunting raid a few years later. The patrol officer again visited the tribe; however, he could not discover the actual culprits, and so merely gave the assembled people of Kwoma a severe lecture threatening dire consequences similar to those of 1928 if there was any further evidence of head-hunting. He also forced a group of Kwoma, including Gwiyap, Mar, and Fit, to witness the hanging at Ambunti of some river natives who had been convicted of taking heads.

114 When we arrived at the government station at Ambunti on
648 our way to Kwoma, the patrol officer stationed there sent a police boy to Hongwam to order all the adult males to come to the station and carry our luggage over the mountain.

[28] Seventeen of those killed appear on the genealogical charts.

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or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade, and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two categories: government agents and recruiters.[20] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[20] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

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## CHAPTER II

## INFANCY

854 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [575] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn • [123] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

853 Hunger produces one of the earliest and most persistently

[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

[2] This made the observation of infants extremely difficult and accounts in large part for the paucity of data in this chapter.

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# CHAPTER IV

## CHILDHOOD

857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[115] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then."

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy.

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention.

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting

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857 868 241 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 868 [252] Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] [462] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. [411] Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they are poorly constructed and rarely used. [223] A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. [224] Mes, an adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. [125] He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] [411] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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tell him that the owner of a garden usually casts a spell on it so that anyone who enters it will be afflicted in this way.

Ghost lore is taught during childhood. The child is told that the spirits of the dead live on a mountain at the edge of the tribal territory, where they lead a topsy-turvy existence. They go by canoe on land and walk upon the water; they sleep by day and venture out at night. Often they assume the shape of a bird or beast. After dark they are attracted by whistling. They frequent a corpse, especially just after death. A child is warned that a ghost is dangerous, and is taught that it is the wish of ghosts to take his soul to the land of the dead. Close contact with them is therefore also dangerous,[11] and a child is told not to go near a burial platform. Sometimes ghosts appear in nightmares and struggle to take the soul of the dreamer. Sometimes they possess people and make them irresponsible for their actions. In these cases a child is taught to be aggressive toward the ghost. When a person is possessed or has a nightmare, those who are present at the time, children included, beat the air with sticks and shout curses and commands at the ghost in order to frighten him away.

A child is punished if he does not heed the warnings of his parents and older siblings. This holds in both the natural and the supernatural spheres. Since I did not know the culture, I was, in a sense, in the status of a child. One day when I was walking in the swamp with Kar and Gwiyap, they pointed out a water hole that was supposed to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. I poked my walking stick into it. Kar shouted at me to take it out, then told me very seriously of the danger of doing such a thing. Gwiyap joined in the scolding.

The following case illustrates strikingly the punishment of a child for not heeding a warning. When some of my shotgun shells spoiled, I cut off the shot and lit the powder, which went off with a puff and amused the natives. Kwos, one of the

[11] The belief that all death is due to sorcery is somewhat contradictory to this. The Kwoma are not very specific about the mechanism of death, but unless a person is sorcerized a ghost cannot succeed in taking the soul. Ghosts are nevertheless feared.

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861 123 children in the hamlet, saw me doing this, stole some shells, and tried to do it himself. His older brother, Mes, saw him and told him that shells were dangerous and that he had better not fool with them. Kwos paid no heed. He tried to light the shell, but it did not go off and he looked to see what the trouble was. At that moment the powder exploded, seriously burning one side of his face and closing one eye. Mes scolded him severely: "I told you not to play with those shells. Why didn't you heed me?" His father also scolded him: "You will probably go blind, but it is your own fault. Why didn't you heed your brother? He told you not to play with the shells." No one in the hamlet expressed sympathy for Kwos's injury; everyone blamed him.

861 The number of punishments that a Kwoma receives from other persons increases markedly in childhood. He is frequently beaten and scolded by his parents and other persons of their generation. They order him to do household chores and scold him for being lax about them. They shout at son or daughter, nephew or niece, to stop yelling and rushing around the house when they are resting or trying to carry on a conversation. They scold the child for snooping into cult secrets, for not helping a *brother* who needs aid, or for damaging the household property. One afternoon Ham was wandering about under the porch of Wof, his *paternal uncle*. The latter, irritable because of an argument that he was having with his wife, roared at Ham to sit down. Ham dropped as though he were shot, and Wof began scolding him severely. He accused Ham of being a little thief and of trying to steal something. Ham began to cry and as soon as he dared got up and ran home. The incidents of Wof beating his daughter for not getting the firewood, and that of Kwiya scolding Mey for not passing the proper mixing sticks, have already been reported.

861 602 A child is kicked and beaten, scolded and teased, by his older siblings even more than by his parents. Older siblings imitate their parents, commanding, scolding, and punishing their younger *brothers* and *sisters*. Older *sisters* punish a boy if they see him with an erection, a girl if she sits immodestly.

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826 He is taught that growth depends upon the renewal of blood,
856 and that food produces blood, which promotes growth as long as it is fresh. When blood has been in the system for a time, however, it begins to grow stale and finally rotten, and then growth ceases until the bad blood is removed from the body. It is furthermore believed that the best method of removing this bad blood from the system is through the penis.[20] As might be expected, children with a strong wish to grow up and with a method which they are told will accomplish it, take this means even though it is painful. Boys frequently go into the bushes and scrape their penises with nettle leaves so that the blood may flow out. For some reason that I could not discover, perhaps because penis scraping was associated with masturbation, boys performed this act only in private and were ashamed if they were discovered. One day Gwiyap, seeing that Mey had left his net bag lying in my house, opened it and pulled out a bundle of nettles. When Mey came in, I asked him about the bundle. He became very embarrassed and said, "Oh, just something of mine." When Gwiyap began to tease him about it, he ran from the house.

It would perhaps be more appropriate to describe this complex in terms of the fear of not growing up rather than in terms of the wish to grow up. The following cases suggest that this is probably the way in which Kwoma boys think of it. Fit asked me if I had performed this rite when I was a child, and when I answered that I had not, his mouth dropped
• [123] in amazement. "How did you grow up, then?" he asked. Gwiyap, who was also present, settled the matter by explaining to Fit that white men are different from Kwoma. On another occasion Ham asked me the same question and was equally amazed at my answer. Apparently Fit had told him what I had said, and Ham had asked me to make sure that Fit was not teasing him.

[767] [20] This belief concerns health as well as growth, and, as has already been shown, phlebotomy is practiced in the case of sickness, in order to "let out the bad blood."

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# CHAPTER V

## ADOLESCENCE

ADOLESCENCE[1] begins for the Kwoma boy with his initiation into the age-grade cycle, for the girl with a ceremony at the time of her first menstruation. Adolescence is a relatively short period, lasting from one to three years. It is a time of transition from the established habits of childhood to those of adulthood. The attainment of a maturing physique brings with it the necessity of learning to do many of the economic tasks which are not expected of a child, and the increase in the strength of the sex drive makes childhood sexual satisfactions no longer adequate, thus throwing the youth into new learning dilemmas. Next to the weaning period, adolescence is the most turbulent time in the life of a Kwoma individual, a period marked by the learning of many new habits and the facing of many new problems.

The rites which the Kwoma girl undergoes at the time of her first menstruation are a strictly feminine affair. The men know little about them, and do not pry. Male informants stated that, since men kept cult secrets from the women, it was only proper that the women should be permitted to keep their secrets from men. Women were silent about the rites.[2] For these reasons, I was only able to gather that the rite included a period of seclusion and that the initiates were given ornaments in which they paraded as a part of the ceremony.

A Kwoma boy is initiated into the age-grade cycle in an

[1] Gwiyap was the only adolescent boy of Rumbima hamlet. Mar was in a somewhat anomalous position between adolescence and adulthood. He had already received his keloids of manhood but was not yet married. Examples from his life have therefore been included both in this and the following chapter. There were five adolescent girls in the hamlet: Kwiya and Awa, in Mar's household; Gwanta and Famba, the daughters of Way; and Aya, the daughter of Waramus.

[2] Had it been possible to establish better rapport with women, more information concerning these rites and other aspects of female life could have been obtained.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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882 839 [123] intimate relationship with my other informants. This, together with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could determine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

836 A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse suspicion. [795] The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

684 Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

836 The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161-162.

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [464] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] [838] [839] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 834 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in intensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *genema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

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159 754 • [129] ing on his bark slab bed. He seemed unable to talk and could only groan inarticulately. We took his temperature and found that it was normal. When we asked him where the pain was, he shook his head, refusing to answer. Wof then diagnosed the sickness as the result of sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies, he dies, that's all." This elicited a groan from Mar. We told him that we had some very strong medicine which would counteract sorcery, at which he lifted his head and looked at us with a doglike expression and then took the Eno's salts which we gave him. We suggested that he go home, for the bush house was damp and lonely, but he groaned and shook his head at this suggestion, indicating that he could not make it. Wof then gathered some nettle leaves, formed them into a cone, into which he muttered a prayer, and then rubbed them over Mar's chest and belly. This made Mar gasp and come out of his lethargy enough to mumble that he believed Waramus was sorcerizing him for courting Aya. We finally raised him to his feet. Leaning heavily on us, he swayed and staggered but was able to walk. As the trip progressed, he seemed to become stronger and for the last part of the journey walked unaided, but when we arrived at his home he fell groaning on his bed, where he stayed for two days without speaking. Wof meanwhile approached Waramus, who denied that he had sorcerized Mar, but said that he still did not want him to court his daughter.

Mar did not leave his house for over a week, gradually recovering his voice and his strength. He believed that Waramus had sorcerized him but had stopped after being accused by Wof, and that this had saved his life. Waramus denied Wof's accusation, and as far as I was able to determine his denial was truthful. The case would have progressed in much the same way, however, whether he had done so or not. Thus it is evident that sorcery functions as an explanation for sickness and that accusations are made against persons who are feared, and finally that the actual performance of black magic is not pertinent.[11]

[787] [11] The fact that Mar had a nightmare in which his father's ghost attempted to take his soul suggests that his sickness may have been due to

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761 take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer
754 will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the
[648] next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was
[764] hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited
[123] voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[38] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

602 The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear
764 of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the
[765] corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[38] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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***maternal uncle***, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***. 602 [628]

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[46] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes. 609 619

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected. 609 578 754 [574]

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't 609 156 578 123

[46] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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609 578 166 123 you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined 685 by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are 692 made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable 683 settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing 684 sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seduc- 626 ing a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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never be a man but never mind. I'll just be a woman all my life until I die. I am afraid of being hanged, that's all. I am not going."

Finally, all the men of the subtribe and some from neighboring tribes met one night at the house tamberan near Var's house. Those who had already taken a head were dressed with homicidal insignia. Their faces were blackened with soot, bands of opossum fur were fastened around their foreheads, and bird of paradise plumes attached to combs bobbed from the backs of their heads. When all had arrived, a ceremonial soup was served, the special ingredients of which were supposed to make men bold and powerful fighters. It is so strong, the Kwoma believe, that a woman or child would die if they eat it. After eating, they broke up in small groups to plan the itinerary. It was decided to send a scout ahead to discover the lay of the land. After the scout had left, the men had nothing to do but wait until he returned the next day. Some went home, but many stayed and began to play ball. The game soon turned into a spontaneous rehearsal of the raid, as the men lined up in sides and threw the ball to each other, shouting and stamping their feet at the same time.

The next day the scout returned to say that the road to Sowal was impassable. The water was so high that it was impossible to walk there, but it was not high enough to go with a canoe. The raid was therefore called off. I think that if it had not been for many who, like Mar, feared punishment from the whites,[52] a way would have been found and the raid carried out.

[52] Not a few of the men opposed going on the raid because they feared that I would report them.

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relatives would be eager to help them in coöperative tasks, etc. He suggested to Mes that he take my shotgun along (he was acting as my shoot boy at the time) because with it he could be certain to kill someone and take his head. Mes asked me for the gun and was very disappointed when I refused. Mar, on the other hand, had seen several river natives hanged for participating in a head-hunting raid and had been so moved by the sight that he was afraid to go. He reacted to War's incitement by weeping and telling me that he guessed he could never be a man. Since traveling conditions prevented the raid from taking place, the correct response could not be made. A few days later a recruiter came to the tribe, and both Mar and Mes "signed on" for a three-year contract to work on a plantation.

Although the reaction of Mes and Mar indicates that War's incitement successfully induced motivation by evoking a complex of acquired drives and appetites based upon sex, hunger, fatigue, and prestige, his teaching was blocked because the correct response could not be made. Since both Mar and Mes said that they were going to work for the whites in order to gain prestige, so as to win an attractive wife, and in order to earn money to buy many wives, "signing on" may have been, in part at least, a substitute for going on the raid.[31]

Kwoma teachers do not always have to motivate their pupils in order to inculcate right responses, for this is frequently done for them either by others or by the natural environment. In such cases their task is to guide the pupil so that he makes the right response and to provide the proper cues.[32] Furthermore, even when the teacher himself motivates the pupil, the problem of guiding him still remains, and Kwoma teachers seldom simply motivate a pupil and

[31] Although it happens that the aim of the teacher was accomplished in neither of the above cases, this does not imply that the technique of inciting is not an effective means of teaching.

[32] Since responses and cues are so closely attached to one another in a habit, it has been deemed expedient to treat these two aspects of learning under a single heading, even though teachers may at times stress the cues and at times the responses.

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Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow someone to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache, or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even become seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not bleed his penis he will not grow up.[1] When the age-grade initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the animal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting. An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he become sick, for the seed and produce have become contaminated with his blood.

One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here, because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adolescents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife, to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

The following case will serve to illustrate the psychological effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walking through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, however, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walking stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity. The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[1] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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had previously experienced for not heeding realistic warnings; the response was avoiding the waterhole; the cues were the sight of the waterhole and Kar's instructions; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since I had not been brought up in Kwoma society, Kar's warning did not evoke fear and I did not make the right response.

Although the technique of warning provides the basis for the inculcation of supernatural fears, several other factors play an important part in this process. One of these factors is the belief that supernatural dangers are similar to real dangers, a fact which strengthens the Kwoma child's fear of them by the principle of secondary generalization.[4]

Since *marsalai* are described as great snakes or crocodiles which live in the swamp, realistic warnings about snakes, crocodiles, and other dangerous animals would tend to generalize to these supernatural monsters. In other words, each time a Kwoma is reinforced for heeding a warning about an animal, particularly a snake or crocodile, he is also somewhat reinforced for heeding warnings about *marsalai*,[5] that is, unrealistic fears. A second source of generalization is that warnings about *marsalai* all concern disturbing their dwelling places. The common word for house is used to describe these supposed dwellings, so that all realistic warnings about trespassing in, and stealing from, the house of human beings also strengthen the warnings about *marsalai*. Finally, *marsalai* are described as being huge. Since large animals and

[4] If two objects are described by the same term, a person tends to respond to them both in a similar manner. Hull has described this as secondary generalization. See C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 9–30. It is also discussed by Miller. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. v. Experimental evidence in support of this principle has recently been adduced by Dr. Jane Birge. See J. S. Birge, "The Rôle of Verbal Responses in Transfer" (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1941). G. P. Murdock has found empirical support for this principle in a study of the generalization of incest taboos by means of common kinship terms.

[5] Kwoma vivify their warnings about *marsalai* by telling children that the sounds they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of these monsters. The sounds are in reality produced by gongs, bull-roarers, and flutes, but this theory offers another avenue of generalization from animals to *marsalai* on the basis of the sounds which they both make.

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made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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lowed him. Mey's behavior can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear caused both by my whistling and by the sight of Mar starting to run while he remained; the response was running after Mar; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Had not Mar run away first, Mey might have discovered some other means of reducing his fear, but by imitating Mar he learned to avoid ghosts in the same manner as his older *brother*. Kwoma pupils in a similar manner learn to avoid *marsalai*, to protect themselves from the dangers of sorcery, and to escape the dangers associated with blood. Thus imitation is an important mechanism for the transmission of supernatural beliefs and practices.

Chance as a factor in maintaining supernatural beliefs has long been noted by anthropologists and sociologists.[9] The data from Kwoma tend to support this theory. Storms occur so frequently that it would be extraordinary if one did not occasionally occur after a person has disturbed the dwelling place of a *marsalai*, and this would help to prevent the extinction of the habit of heeding. The following case illustrates this point. Yat had cleared a garden site near a large rock thought to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. When the time came to burn the dried brush and branches, a necessary step in the process of gardening, he expressed some anxiety lest this might anger the *marsalai* which lived in the rock, but nevertheless went ahead with his burning. That night there was a bad storm with a high wind, and Yat took this as proof of his belief that he had indeed angered the supernatural being. Wof, Gwiyap, and Mar all explained the storm in the same way. The next time that there was a bad storm, I said to Gwiyap: "Yat didn't disturb a *marsalai* today. How do you account for the storm?" Gwiyap replied: "Maybe Yat didn't, but someone else did. Probably it was one of those stupid people from Wanyi."

Chance also operates to support warnings about ghosts. Marok and Kar stayed visiting in a part of the tribe some distance from their home until after dark, thus not heeding

[9] See W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1928), vol. II, chap. xxi.

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

[11] See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

[12] If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

[13] Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

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The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

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and providing a new means of earning it, had set the stage for the extinction of a supernatural belief. [123].

In sum, a number of factors seem to be responsible for the inculcation and maintenance of supernatural beliefs and practices. Kwoma teachers, having repeatedly warned their pupils concerning real dangers, are enabled to use this technique to teach their pupils to avoid dangers which do not exist. To make these unrealistic warnings more forceful, they describe the supernatural dangers as being similar to the real dangers from which their pupils have experienced pain. Imitation also plays as important a rôle as in the transmission of the other aspects of the culture. Despite all these forces which lead a Kwoma pupil to respect supernatural dangers, the effort and deprivation frequently involved in carrying out magico-religious rituals tend to make him omit them. Since such omissions would soon lead to the extinction of these habits, the sanctions of society, as implemented by punishments from his teachers, provide the ultimate force which prevents the pupil from discovering that these dangers do not really exist and do not have to be avoided. Finally, the teachers themselves continue to inculcate these beliefs because they are integral parts of institutions which as a whole are necessary for the satisfaction of the basic and acquired drives of the constituent members of Kwoma society. 121 869

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Chapter II
Record of Events
Kwoma--Diary

October 12, 1936.

114 Yesterday was Sunday according to our figurings; it is the second Sunday
[123] since we arrived here. The Waskuk* with a finish/as their spokesman, declared timer
that no work was to be done since it was Sunday. They were probably
testing us out to see whether we were "missis" or not, for yesterday con-
struction went on as usual on our house boy's houses. The houses were
nearly completed, except for a few finishing touches. They also constructed
an outhouse for us.

342 Hamb's house is almost square, constructed in the same manner as ours
with frame and maratta roof. There are no porches on the gable end, but
instead, a low verandah or gallery formed by setting the side wall back
about three feet from the edge of the floor and under the eves on the
south side. The walls consist of stiff thick reeds bound together like
a weir of fence, and held together by two sets of strips bound to each other
352 with rattan wound spirally between each reed. Hamb is now making a bed. The
uprights of the house form three of its posts and fourth is stuck through
the floor in the middle of the room. He had bound cross pieces between these
posts and is now nailing slats across parallel to the shorter side. Over
this he intends to put a mattress of the same stiff reeds at right angles
to the slats. Hamb is very proud of his house and considers it quite
superior to anything that the Waskuk could construct.

342 Wisop's house is peculiar in that the roof was taken from an old
[483] tumbled down Waskuk house and was carried up bodily by about thirty-five
of the Waskuks and set in place--a no small feat since the only mechanical
device was two or three forked sticks which they used to extend their
reach when the top edge of the roof was lifted onto the ridgepole. Also
they set up a scaffolding of a pole lashed between the uprights.

[101] * Waskuk is the name by which the Kwoma were known by the Australian administration.

123 When the construction of Wisep's and Hamb's houses was finished, the workers lined up for pay. This paying them has been rather annoying to us, and I don't think we have handled it too well. When our house was finished, we told all the workers to come around and we would pay them for it. Many of them lined up, and wishing to please them and to start in their good graces, we were quite generous. We gave them ten axes and ten large knives and various other nick-nacks, such as small cheap paring knives for the children, a few pipes, two or three harmonicas, a few jew's harps, some stick tobacco and some rouge. There was some confusion and wrangling as to how it should be divided, but finally everything was settled. Then we discovered that about ten of the construction gang had been in the bush washing sago when the distribution took place. They kept coming in during the next few days and voicing their complaints. We don't know their faces well enough yet to know whether they are trying to get paid double or not. Also, we didn't know what they deserved--that is, how much work they had actually done on the house. While the whole affair irritated us no small amount, we decided we could not risk being partial, so we gave them several more large knives and axes. That was not the end of the episode, however. When the boys' houses were completed, the workers wanted more pay. We decided that the pay in this second case would be either a paring knife or a lapiap. After we had dealt out this second payment, a half dozen more people stepped up and claimed that they had not been paid for making our house. They had also been many washing sago. We knew this to be true in a couple of cases, so we dealt out some more big knives. I doubt if there was any fraud involved; the irritant was the prolongation of the thing, and the feeling of unsureness on our parts of how to deal with it. Our house boys thought we were overgenerous.

123 There was an interesting occurrence when we were giving out the laplaps. We had just cut the last one that was wanted when up stepped Kumb, a youth of about seven who always went around naked as the others of his age. I couldn't help laughing at this and said, "Oh, come now Kumb, you don't want a laplap". The Washuk joined in the kidding and laughter, and as a result the poor boy was quite put out and began to look very hurt and tears came to his eyes. Whether or not the others would have kidded him without my starting it or not, I don't know. Anyhow, I felt sorry for him and gave him a small piece of cloth.

After the payment was all settled and everyone seemed to be satisfied; I walked down the hill to the stream to bathe. On the way, several of the Washuk "finished timers" spoke to me in a hushed voice as if they were telling me a secret of great importance. They said there was to be a "singsing" the day after tomorrow at Bongus and that we could watch it. I thanked them and am looking forward to the event.

October 13, 1936.

114 Yesterday passed rather uneventfully except that I tried to make a deck chair with a piece of canvas and some saplings bound together. I didn't have enough canvas to finish it, and the part that I did finish was rather rickety. Kumb said it was no good and to throw it away, and I guess he was right. At lunch, I was determined to try the gypsy stove which we had brought with us. Kumb had refused to use it, considering his open fire much better. I transferred some embers from the fire to the stove and tried to kindle them in the stove. Some of the Washuks were 372 watching and took over after my unsuccessful attempts. To make a fire they put a live ember under a little pile of dry chips, and after blowing on it, very shortly have a flame going. For firewood they use a very dry

372 brittle wood, dead and somewhat wormeaten. They break the wood in length varying from two to four feet and place it on the ground radially from a center. The fire burns only at the end of the logs with practically no flame or smoke, but with intense heat. As the logs burn, they are pushed toward the center of the fire. I can't decide whether it is the type of wood or the arrangement of it that produces such a fire.

114 I put some potatoes in the oven to bake and then some time later asked Kamb where the pigeon was. He had shot one the night before, and I had mentioned that I was going to roast it. He had thought I was kidding evidently, for it was already in his pot over the open fire. This was somewhat disconcerting, but as it turned out to be very tasty--probably more so than my attempt would have been--he couldn't but be forgiven. Kamb is a good cook. Since it was very hot after lunch, Tip and I both lay down, read, and dozed.

796 Today was the first day of the "singsing". Before we had finished breakfast, the gongs began beating. Soon after we finished eating and had treated the sores of a couple of youths that had come in, we started off to observe the ceremony. We were accompanied by Kar and Kamb who volunteered to show us the way. They led us down the north side of the mountain almost [123]

346 to the edge of the sago plain--about a mile from our house. When we arrived, a couple of the "finish timers" came out and escorted us into the house tamberan.

The roof is arched; the ridgepole slants from the back to the front, where an extension overhangs the front of the building. The roof form is the same as the Bunari delta type, but the building is not on piles. In the center of the house tamberan was an altar formed from a pile of yams and taro enclosed in a diamond-shaped kind of wicker basket. It was

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It
346 gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
532 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed, the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
● 123 and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultul" and the "lulusi" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the altar. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" wore laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 and four inches in diameter. They were not ornamented. The usual method
534 of beating the gong was to stand at right angles to it, the right side of the body next to the gong, a beater held in either hand. The gong was pounded near, but on either side of the slit, the beater striking endwise. This method was, however, by no means universal, for sometimes the drummer would stand facing the gong, or sit on it and idly tap with the side of the beater. The most usual and accepted method was the former; the latter the most informal. There were also several intermediate methods.

796 The rhythm consisted of accented beats and unaccented beats in alter-
533 nation. At each gong one of the drummers would pound out the accented, another the unaccented beats. Further, each gong would produce the rhythm of one accented and three unaccented beats. These beats were alternated among the gongs so that the accented beat of one gong would fall on the middle unaccented beat of another gong. Thus -/---/---/--- and ---/---/---/ would result in -/-/-/-/, (total effect). The rhythm of the gongs was more or less followed by the singers and dancers. This rhythm was not the only one employed, and Tip says that even it is not right. That is something we will have to check up on.

796 We stayed there and observed until just before noon. The dancing
123 and singing had been continuous until this time and then the dancers stopped for something to eat. We all went out into the small clearing in front of the house tamberan. In front of us was a line of coconut trees and beyond that a short drop, and then the sago swamp. On our left was a path coming down the mountain, and on the right, jungle growth. In the left
349 hand corner of the clearing and on the further side from where we stood another construction had been built. It was a representation of a ship with a mast, laddered rattlins, and crabclaw sails represented by two

349 [179] coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 262 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 123 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us.

[417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the [346] [198] house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the front court could not see the sacred altar.

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has [197] [191] [291] [177] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.

126 194 We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising. We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, ɛ, o, u and ɨ. Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š, y, j, l and r. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcv. 126 193 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ha is the imperative particle, sapa expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

123 526 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones. They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about twenty yards away.

114 132 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in various unsuspected places, pasticularly right over my head, where it came through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost an absolute calm for another minute.

796 764 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while. We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 [114] During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had stopped.

796 346 778 [123] When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an inverted trumcated cone about four feet high constructed from net bags stretched

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
708 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves. The mask near the front was called asambwarí, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called shimakwa and belonged to Bangua (actually to the cicatrizer). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called sawimayí. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no maski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½" screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the "lulumi" of Bangua,/ (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wi with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wi was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulual and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

● 123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiop" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rumbina, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
123 the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[122] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
859 soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [415] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty- [323] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done [439] the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [263] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the [317] mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

123
114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bangus and Waskuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
582 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [191] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus luluai (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his genealogy were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone
[123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had
[602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

764 came soon after we arrived and sat down. Then about six young men, mostly "savvy talks" came into the clearing carrying a large wooden shield carved on its [754] face. They came up, greeted me, and at once began talking in much the same vein as Sof had the night before about the evils of black magic. Kwonayi came up, [123] shook my hand and took the lead during all of this conversation, keeping ahold of my hand the whole time. They excitedly talked about getting my cooperation in punishing the culprit when he was found. They planned to take him to the [754] "kiop" and have him put in the calabouse. They said the dead man had been poisoned by somebody getting some of his food and burning it. They warned me not to throw any of my food near the road where the natives could get at it.

When they had talked themselves out, they carried the shield over and lifted the dead man onto it. Two women came and each broke a lime gourd on the shield, and poured the lime out. Two of the young men then lifted the shield onto their shoulders and started down the hill. I asked Kwonayi if I could follow, and he assured me there was nothing to be afraid of.

The procession very shortly reached a small clearing where there was a house. On either side of the structure has been built a tall rectangular form, one the burial platform of the man who had died a few weeks ago and the other ready to receive the present remains. There was a faint smell of decaying [417] flesh coming from the older platform. The other one had a ladder leading up to the small cubicle which was formed by a platform and flat roof. The body was carried up the ladder feet first and the shield was removed. Then the women, who had resumed their wailing when the man had been put on the shield, entered the enclosure and sat down in front of the house. When I had first arrived only one of them had any special mark of mourning--her face had been smeared with clay. Now most of them had a band of lime on their foreheads-- presumably [602] from the broken lime gourds. (Later I found out that the classificatory sisters of the deceased wore this badge; relatives by marriage did not.)

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bangus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754
[796] gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "mouki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk
[123] gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
[372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

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482 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders. We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering. Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves, but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women
[855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it
[123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to
[136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriesi, and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

115 have made a better choice. I got some texts on the whistling language. It is a surprisingly well developed form of communication and as far as I can tell, independent of their spoken language. It consists of different combinations of three factors,--two tones and a stop. These can be spoken or shouted with a high tone, a low tone, and the glottal stop. It can be whistled, or, for very long distances, blown through a large open whistle of bamboo.

One of the most interesting things that Eve told us was evidences of Malay bird of paradise hunters in the area roughly west of a line drawn from here northward to the coast, and extending to the Dutch border. This is evidenced by the fact that the natives would come out and pantomime shooting a gun and using a ramrod, and would jabber to him a few words of Malay Pidgin. He checked up on its being Malay Pidgin by looking it up when on leave and learning enough so he was able to answer them on his next trip in. Another thing of interest is a homogeneous culture area about eight days march south of Aitape--very thickly populated, about eight-hundred to the village, very friendly, with food aplenty, and as yet untouched by recruiters, etc.

126 After Eve left, we worked on revising our phonemes. Our first rough attempt was not satisfactory. The one we have now is better, but still far from perfect. We also went over all the words we had collected, revised them and arranged them alphabetically in a loose leaf dictionary. We find that we have about four-hundred — not enough, and a particular paucity of verbs which are rather hard to get at. It is difficult to get texts because the [124] [123] [196] myths are supposedly esoteric and only recently have people been willing to tell us any. From this dictionary we have made, several interesting word configurations and a promise of more have appeared - for instance sugilawas

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

132 several clear and fresh days and cool nights - wonderful for sleep. And
132 even more important is the fact that the mosquitos are very few. Why this
136 is so we have no idea. There seems to be no rhyme or reason to their
[825] comings and goings. The natives have a belief that they move in a body at this time from the river villages, Yamboon, Malu, etc., up to the Hongwem where they stop for a time. Then they visit each of the other Kwoma settlements in turn before moving off to the north.

123 Our gathering of data in the last week has largely been influenced by events in the lives of individuals and ceremonial affairs. Plans for the day's work which we make in the morning often fall by the way before noon. For example, a week ago a small boy who is often about the house came running in to say that Mar, one of the Hongwem youths who fetches water and firewood for us, was dead. We had given him permission to go to his bush house and garden over near Ambunti Mt. two days before, and he had gone off in good spirits. This gave us a jolt. We asked if he were "dead finish". The answer came "no got, dead liklik dasol".

We packed a few medicines and immediately started out with a half dozen of Mar's kin over the same gruelling track which had nearly killed us several weeks ago. When we arrived we found Mar sitting near a fire list-
[753] less and moaning. They all agreed that it was a case of 'poison' because of the suddenness of the attack and because the patient could not 'talk straight'. Even we could notice that he was mouthing his words when we could get him to answer a question. He complained of intestinal pains, but no headache, and his temperature was exactly normal. We thought it best to get him back to his house proper and out of the wet swampy hollow where he was. He protested and did not have the strength to stand on his own feet.
123 We gave him a strong purgative. During this time Wof, his father's elder
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123 755 brother who had come with us, was gathering leaves of a nettle shrub. These he arranged in the shape of a cone and whispered into as if it were a microphone. Then while we held Mar on his feet, War rubbed him down from shoulders to toes with these stinging leaves. The result, whatever the cause, was that Mar could now stand. We gave him the end of my stick, and John pushed from behind; thus we started back. His dependence on our assistance decreased noticeably as we proceeded.

Our return was something of a triumph as Wof told everyone of how we had brought Mar home. However, he was not out of danger of dying from black magic, and that night his kin beat the air with lighted bamboos to drive off gamba.

754 753 There isn't space to list all of the aspects of the case, but it is interesting to note that Mar thinks that a man named Waramus of his own sib whose daughter Mar had recently been refused in marriage, made the poison. This is the only case we have come across where a sorcerer has been named. (I'll have to say now that Waramus is only a temporary member of the sib Rumbinam. There has been a very complicated process of splitting up and fusion of sibs here which we'll be able to talk of later.)

Mar remains about the same as when we first saw him. His appetite is good, but he lies down all day and claims that he has no strength in his "meat". He still says that it is poison although the general attitude in this regard is that when you have poison, you don't linger but die in a day or two. We are getting any number of insights and leads from this case although the case itself has us guessing.

164 [123] Mar's illness seems to have ushered in an epidemic of sickness. Several small children have malaria; many bruises and contusions have to be treated, and one man came requesting epsom salts to cure his case of water

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mama, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] [657] here in a few days on his patrol.

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term nareuboy we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the mouth long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[764] yet know. Later on when one's nareuboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Kongwam. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

114 he had presumed to go to the house tamberan where the big men were blowing
627 the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kiop". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwem "bavi-talk" . His came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabenkura women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to protect themselves. They knew that the "kipp" had tabooed killing. I'm sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Aubunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called sambe and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwem. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbiman's sambe. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwem sib and got some
174 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwem in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on sib history I went over the mountain to Wanyabunkura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Bangus man written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tamberan by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered [124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Kar, of Kumbina, who has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very [123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangviya, greets me cordially and dubs me naramboy. He sits on the ground just before his house. The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to [262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangviya points out to me most of his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my [262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his ruwe ( niece, in this case) a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst a hubub of advice from these men who are not taking part in the distribution, the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and [533] [534] semi-initiated boys run for the house tamberan to "fight the garamut" and blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

794 The word sugilawas which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through talking of it we found out that there are three ( ?, groups, or something) named yenengara, minjema, and nokwisugwi which are sugilawas "true" . These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have emblems, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively. How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the few cases we have it seems that if a man is in yenengara his first son will be minjema, his second yenengara, etc. But there also seems to be movement upwards as if they were based on age grades. Nokwisugwi seems to stand considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it. Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abagalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days. No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that it is a singsing for maris, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
● 123 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here. I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden
trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They
were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the
grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden
cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece
is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of
Rumbima sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves
in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling
that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up
the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint
and headed for home.

128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less
and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the
anthropologist, but to record all of same in this would be too long a task.
So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At those ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for
Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps
a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing
which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 123 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukau. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 123 183 My "monki", Gwiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raused' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 179 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

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Today was full of excitement for us here. Five men from Yambon have been up here for the last two days trying to capture and buy a large tamed pig, because as they say "no good blut bilong man 'e go down along pig". So our cook boy was requested to bring a shotgun and kill the beast for them. Hamb thought that my .455 English Service revolver would be better so he said "mus go wantime". I was willing although I had shot my small cannon only half dozen times since buying it from Max Hamm when we first came up the river.

In the morning we started out for Marok's house on the most easterly spur of these mountains. When we reached Sombundura, his house tamberan, we found the men of Yambon sitting there waiting for word to be brought that the pig had come for its morning meal. They showed us what they were [435] paying for the pig: one axe, two 14" cane knives and the rest in shells. The latter consisted of one large polished clam shell, a half-dozen two foot ropes of ½ inch shell cylinders, a few strings of small cowries and an arm band and headdress of small cowries. The shells have definite values in shillings - and very high ones too. The single clam shell for example being worth 5 marks . In all there was about thirty shillings worth of shell money. "Something nothing" compared to the bride-price John was told.

Finally a monki came running down with word that the pig had come to the house. Hamb and I hastened along the path a few hundred yards to Marok's house. Here we found quite a crowd sitting quietly while a woman fed one of two pigs some sago. I was in a quandry as to which was the one to be shot, and there was such an under-current of excitement that I had trouble finding out. When I was sure, they kept whispering to go ahead and shoot, but the woman still stood close by and I feared hitting her instead of the pig. Finally she put down the sago and moved off giving us a

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23 broadside shot at not more than thirty feet. I drew a quick aim and fired - the pig, just ahead of Namb, instead of dropping in its tracks, went bounding off into the bush. This was very bad, for not only would the sale fall through but the pig might go off and die in the bush. So a chase started then that was to last until after noon. John had come up with his .22 with a crowd of men as soon as they had heard us fire. We all began to scour the bush nearby and to get scoured ourselves by creepers, branches and nettles. The men and boys suddenly all had spears and the hunt was on. We who had guns were called all over the district by people who had just seen the pig. John saw it once and had two shots at it, but the .22 didn't kill it.

When we gathered together again at Marok's house, speculation was rife as to what had happened. Namb swore that we both had hit it and that he had seen the holes the bullets had made. Inasmuch as I found the one bullet I was able to fire in the ground under the spot where the pig had stood, I am almost sure that I didn't hit it. Namb's story was believed by [M18] most everyone. Then it appeared that the pig was sugiliwas, and some supernatural agency had come down into it and given it power to run away. Marok seemed very proud of what the pig had done and told us that the pig was his people's (Wanyi) totem . Some said that it was maara, his sugiliwas, that was in the beast and wouldn't let it go until night because it didn't want Marok to sell his pig. We were quite willing to accept any such explanation for the sake of our reputations as marksmen.

The wear and tear on our clothes and bodies during the morning was terrific. John turned his nose into a yam stick in a headlong fall down a muddy slope, and I got a stitch in my side which made my eyes pop from answering false alarms at the house on top of the mountain. A hairless goat might feel at home in these surroundings, but as yet we can't even bleat.

657 123 177

December 13, 1969.[1] While sitting talking with Max, one of the children came in saying the child Suw was very sick. We went down to see him. His mother was sitting just outside the building, and the other girls were in the house. Wer, who was sitting on the hill beside the house, greeted us. Kis and Kar were standing around. Kwonai was there. We took Suw's temperature; it was normal. Then we stood looking at him and discussing the case. Max said, "He certainly looks sick." Our faces were rather long. All of a sudden we heard a sobbing and looked up to see Wer, his head on his knees, and his body shaking with sobs. Suw's mother began to cry a little too. We went and got some medicine, a mixture of dover powders, asperin, and marmite in warm water, then came back and gave it to Suw. He vomited it up immediately and with it some undigested boyna leaves. After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

[1] [i.e., 1936 - analyst]

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
177 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waremus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived, there was again a crowd of women in the house and
[754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leatherneck (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leatherneck took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leatherneck gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat
[152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected
[571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwam would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Gwiyap, Nay, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuri; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's nareuboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

114 [123] down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back [521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwas, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 648 Mow came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Vorey saying to come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to bathe, Kumb, Kar, Waf, War, and others were sitting in the police house talking. Mar stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. Mar stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 231 Kumb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them and asked if we would shoot it tomorrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver,.44, a shot gun and the.22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house tamberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed [435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Kumb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

231 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite
123 a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the
114 pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a <u>auxilives</u> must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Hamb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

254 Later Yat came up and said that Suw was all right. Someone had
648 admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat
464 and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosak said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

648 Overall came he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yet and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 13, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yet, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see us and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[754] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerized along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kum up nau" ( There is going to be a fight ) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marok's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Rael, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mes talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals; his elder brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

578 of the house holding a large club, talking in a loud voice as was almost
593 everyone else of a group of about a dozen or so which had gathered. Dew's wife was near the center of the group with a digging stick in her hand. She is a strapping, good-looking young woman, and her eyes were shining with anger. Wof, Way, and Waremus, aside from the principals and the women, were doing most of the talking. Kwal went and sat inside the porch after a while; Dew, still trembling, dropped his weapon after a bit and told his wife to go back to her house. The houses are only about 20 feet apart and facing each other. It was rather difficult to find out what the trouble was, but as near as I could make out, Dew had been away all day and had come back to find his betel nut stolen from the tree near his house. This was the culmination of several thefts, and he suspected his brother, and accused him. His wife was evidently the leader in the accusation, for Kwal grabbed a spear and began belaboring her with the handle of it. At this Dew grabbed up a 1 x 5" slab of "limbon" about 4 feet long and cracked Kwal over the scull, breaking the skin and raising a nasty lump. What happened next I don't know, except as I was coming down the hill, I heard someone howling. The difference seemed to be settled, for everyone began to talk of other things. The two sulked while I stayed there about a half hour but joined a little in the conversation. After I had gone, I heard some more rather loud voices, but nothing happened. Mas, who came
[123] up afterward, said it had been settled. Kwal visited in the evening, and I put iodine on his cut. Gwiyap did not go down. Mas arrived before Mar and I. The people of Tug were also there. The doctor and Wenyamonj and a couple of others sat aside by themselves. Whether the accusation was just or not, I could not tell. I asked if it were usual for brothers to fight, and he replied that it was the custom of the tribe. The words

578 593 lage kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Daw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel papers before they were ripe.

123 177 439 January 17, 1987. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Fit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Fit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [775] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gembas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's naremboi came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

000 was well.

529 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a "singsing" rhythm from Wenyebankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
504 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yet and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin", which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told [829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar, Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 123 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
439 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbinan" (from Rumbina) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite a lot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwam were
024 friendly; Urambanji and Saserman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwam always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
023 me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I know they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(wiespeju -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

114 521 648 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned. Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kaviak tree for demonstration purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikis had killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikis got their guns and then killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up. Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, birawa. I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten Amikis who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the story was true, but it was very convincing.

[123] [121]

114 I went and told Hamb who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalis was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalis to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Hamb and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwans would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that, looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

578 754 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of 'making poison' against Wor and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for 'poison.' Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 464 January 23, 1937. Ames came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Nemb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Ames explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urembanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 114 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 202 [534] January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked Gwiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a 'lapun meri' was dying and they were calling her relatives

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and Mar this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they were that they had.

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Rumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement compared to the Nokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Ndunkwi of Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

[171] [301] [302]

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Mey who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was beleboring Fit with it. Later Mey came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Mey while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Mey had scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Gwiyap and I were talking about it and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

[522]

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Ham in 522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through breakfast. I told Marur to bring Ham to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Ham, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Ham danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

[123]

838 finger at him. Later I asked Mey if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Marksm (tribe from which Wisep [329] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwom understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Owiyap, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. Mey just came in with 602 his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). Mey had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told Mey to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This Mey plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not 593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the 595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and Mey said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (Mey had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mas who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (Mey told me later that he, Kum,

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on [513] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by [252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, [524] and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and Kwos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished sugilewas (carved figure) roughly
[412] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another 1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother, held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts. I playfully hit Ham on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Ham. The ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove. He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Ham brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Ham who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but the roast heart of sugar cane excellent.

593 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his wife; he snapped at Hay and at Owiyap's little sister for not making the sago properly. Wof's wife sent Hay for the chop sticks to make the sago.

593 [353] 123 There were several stored in the thatch. Twice Mey took down the wrong ones and she was very cross with him. Mey did not answer but looked sullenly resentful. Kum was standing just outside the house looking down the path. After a while he came up near me, and I took him in my lap. He looked at me very intently saying nothing. His eyes were steady and unwavering. One finger was in the corner of his mouth. As I came up he stood near me for a moment and put his finger on my fly.

132 Someone yelled down the mountain. We all listened. The shouting was that rain was coming. I looked over the plain toward the sea and saw there was a big storm coming. For some reason this seemed to upset Wof and his wife.

578 A few moments later I saw Kaye looking down the path with a look of intense hatred. Her brows were contracted, her mouth pursed tightly, and her eyes looked unwaveringly. I wondered what it was and looked around and saw Chinawa approaching. She came up slowly with a large net bag of money which she started to unload. No one greeted her. Her presence was absolutely ignored, and Wof was glowering at the ground. Wof cursed and slapped savagely at a fly which lit on his leg. I felt rather uncomfortable because the situation was so intense. After a few minutes I left. Mey came with me, and when I got to the house, I asked what the matter was. It seems that Wof had found some of his food broken into and some of it taken. He asked Kaye if she knew anything about it and she said she didn't. Then he asked Chinawa if she knew, and she would not answer, so he suspected her of stealing it and carrying it to another man for the purpose of sorcery. Almost as soon as I left, Wof's voice came up loudly. Mey said he was trying to find out whom she had taken the food to,

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked May if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife.
595 He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and
754 after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to May, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Hamb, went up and greeted Hamb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump May, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I
[854] stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was
[231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kaysndi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

648 464 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 574 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection. [334] [372] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] [361] [252] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Hem came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and May went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for us--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[357] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimuwa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mes' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

439 628 532 534 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a 'tunket' with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Hes and Gwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Ndoway house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 439 114 302 123 457 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird. February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted [435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 [411] [412] The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in; about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the [437] [435] Tangwishamps asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Hamb had tried to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Gwiyap and May who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Yas in maus shit nuting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Wayakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by War and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put 787 out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Gwiyaps sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Gwiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. May, Mar, Gwiyap, Mae, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Hamb appeared and

787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Nomb to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar , Chinuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got none ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Owiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Enriya, Chinuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chinuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and Mey, and when I was there, my house was mentioned. [123]

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan blessing Yet's gong.
323 Mar was working hombank and cutting grass by the house tamberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yet visited in the afternoon.

323 531 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this afternoon and did card tricks for Eriya and Awa. Their reaction was to 123 201 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and forefinger and bite the lower lip. Chimuwa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Eriyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the marsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 578 February 28, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill 578 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

578 been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed
[123] up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not
feel like working.

527 Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what
262 they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to
[754] discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and
[692] Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon
[252] they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they
had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and
[415] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold
[252] it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When
the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and
boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with
[123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the
soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he
[123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I
helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me
to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach
was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about
754 fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed
that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngeyemas (a big man of Afokalies)
got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been
poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sowinambi's (kinship term) and I will fight
anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground
[123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before
the white men (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a
spear.

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Wey, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
[754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
[593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Awiyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tamberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayamakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing
[648] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayamakwo had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and May. Chinuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awe giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Owiyap. Awe and Kwiya were there. Owiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Owiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Owiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), War, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Weyakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

574
476 April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and
[501] fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about
[252] 1:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago.
Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and Mar had his family make soup. This
was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciou-
[156] ness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I
[262] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The
first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable
amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked
around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second
course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gourie pigeon
[123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a
[262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly
Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was
like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it
[137] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the
[262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma
culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked.
[521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed,
[276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was
[522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives
and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Harok, Mar and May. A
standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about
"her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Kwiya, Pamba, Yawa, and Daw went to
the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women
pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. [648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the woman or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

533 Nomb and Yam began playing flutes after dark. Hay and Way were here. As soon as they started, Way spoke sharply to Hay and told him to come. They left for home.

114 April 11, 1937. I returned from the trip to Ambunti. Kar is still away at the bush house. The gongs were beaten at Wanya similar to the poison beatings. 685 [533] It turned out that someone had come back from the bush and found his house had been broken into, and he was making a fuss about it. Kwalump, Salakawa, Amba, and War came up. Kwal told me that they had had a watokolai about the house breaking--nothing eventuated.

● 123 685 After supper I talked about Way, who, the day I left, had stolen a knife, a "lap lap," and a big tin. I said that if he brought it back, it would be all right but that if he did not, I would take the case to court. They all agreed to the justice of this and for fifteen or twenty minutes talked over the question. "This is the behavior of a child, not a man. Punch him in the nose; don't be afraid of him." Then Hay repeated the evidence against him. He [648] had seen Way with the knife in his hand just before it disappeared. Then incidents were recounted of a previous theft of Way's; he had stolen a knife from the patrol officer when he was here, and the police boys had beaten him up. There was laughter and then talk of the time when the Germans owned territory, and Way was carrying cargo. He got tired and said he wanted to defecate. The police boy said that if that was the case to do it where he was. Way had tried to run away, and the police boy beat him up. This was told with great relish by Yat and Kwal and was followed by much laughter. The final indictment was that Way was not a man but a ghost (gamba).

Hay just came in saying that Wof was sorry that Way had stolen the long knife. "Way, im i no monki belong yu im i big felo man. im i no bilong nuther felo bannis, belong Rumbiman dasal--fashion no good." (Way is not your child,

123 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs
685 to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 Noel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had
752 tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There
578 were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Gwiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss
271 worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala
685 affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "calaboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. Way said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Telangu affair. It

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] [136] [578] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house temberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 426 April 13, 1937. Afok and Pokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mas is now our shoot boy, as Mamb has quit. Yesterday Mas killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mas realised that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Owiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mas was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalisation that Mamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me-- while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Pokotay, Daw, Yetaminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbima calling with a new gong--do you hear me"; and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. Mar called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. Mar said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
754 cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[543] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Hamb and Hamaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house temberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mas, Owiyap and May were there. War began talking to Mas in a low tone. He said something about my musket and Yelagu. I guessed what it was, and later Owiyap told me that War was suggesting that May get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelagu people. Mas and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house temberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwa called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwa's imagination. I told Owiyap and Mar that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yafomongwia, Kwalump, Ambe, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kronai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. May told me that the time was set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Marok's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awa visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
[524] answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
[123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mas told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian government, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olataim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind wearing the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mas both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

124 against War if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gviyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came

[583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gviyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight

[752] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was

123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gviyap

431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca

437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The

276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are

[262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 [562] After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (herape ne mayaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbina were there. The 123 726 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Nas. War was the ring leader. Nas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Umambanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Nas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. May said he had been that way ever since sunga mweni at Sow's.

584 754 Owiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like Kalu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true"-- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to tell her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 583 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- the arrangement was that Nas would get Gwuts in exchange. Yatamanj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Nas, Dawa and Afa would get Uka's.

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to
come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first
with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he
said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of
his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Daw put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt.
I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose."
When May came back he greated me, saying, "sim" (hello). I did not return
the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and
he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He
said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and
sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Kwos
and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but
showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three
o'clock and called to Kwos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to
send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing
sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kwiya, Awa, Afi, and Yawaf were there.
I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap
said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they
did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes
and sat down at Mar's. Enlya and Awa were there ahead of us; the others
had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
● 123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they
were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so
I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels.
Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were
eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did
not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause
sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. May was evidently
anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally
Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis
was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. May was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok
will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Mgusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Umwiyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's
elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters
had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up
this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chimwa took it, saying it was better so.
Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with
Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said maski (nevermind). When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also said that Yatsminj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it (evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Owiyep just came in without his "lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the women did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
835 Uka, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopement be postponed. Marsk was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. May came

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Kros came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Gwiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Gwiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Gwiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "monki nothing".

593 Since Mguseruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Kumbina because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerized. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afokayisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted kwyemb na me yeto (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Yenakwot from Kawi Tuk (Yessan) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'. The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mar came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bits to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

OOO Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white men and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

501 Yatakampa and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mas and Mar want to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mas said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mas' persuasion.

123 I told May and Gwiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "geyaman along ui ol saiw" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Gwiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Yenshwot and four others from Yessan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information [124] from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Hongwom. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokalis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Gwiyap; his father was Siyous who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their ruyn and Afokalis said yes he is ruyn to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Gwiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Gwiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but it would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[833]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aye. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Owiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aye a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely sawuto meani (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister.
"Big fela more" --they had carried Hay's pig and Masuk's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup
to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my leka (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

000 gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

123 April 20, 1937. Mar came up with Kis from his house this morning (he had been up before and gone back), and the two of them said they wanted some of the strong medicine I gave Mar when he had poison. Mar said he had a pain in his stomach. I was busy for the moment. Later I got 2 empirin tablets--Kis took one but Mar said he didn't want his. Mar told me afterwards that Kis was beginning to think that the sore on his leg was due to poison.

[754]

241 Kwiye has gone to her mother's. She left when the group went to Koriasi. Her mother sent word that she needed help gathering the brush from her husband's garden.

584 I asked Mar this afternoon about Aye. He said that Way had forbidden the arrangements--that he was afraid War would make poison. War did not like the idea of the match. The affair had come up before (I reported it several months ago). Mar had asked Mas about it, and he had said "no got". He (Mas) had told his father about it, and this had been the time when they had shouted back and forth. I asked him why War had prevented him, and he said he did not know. 'Nevermind Aye; I'll catch another wife somewhere.' There is one at Koriasi whom he "marked" a couple of months ago and spoke to her father about. He was sort of resigned and whining about the affair--shook his head and sighed.

581 Then Mar complained about Yewa--she was lazy, didn't have strong bones. Firewood "lik lik im brok im". If she goes to break sago, she bats a little tree. A big one would take her until after dark. I asked him if he had had intercourse with her yet. He said no. If she was a good wife, it would be all right. He would have long ago had she been the same as Aye, but since she was no good, he wouldn't; and then he wouldn't have to pay for her. He said he might never have intercourse with her until she died. She had

581 been married to a man from Tuk. She had been lazy, and he had nemoed (beaten) her, and she had left him. Her father had died, and Afok was looking out for her. She stopped there for a while and then said she wanted to marry Mar and promised Afok that she would not be lazy, so he had brought her to Mar. She had been with him a long time (3 years).

123 524 Kum was playing this afternoon with May and began tapping him on the leg. I told him to hit hard. He did. May slapped him back with a newspaper, then challenged him to hit him again. I told him to (also), but he raised his hand and only brought it half way down, not striking him. He repeated this a couple of times and then began to kick him. May paid no attention, and the play stopped.

124 819 I tried to get the real ages of Kwiyokai, Awa, Gwiyap, Mar, etc. They did not know except that Awa was older than Kwiyakay; Gwiyap was older than May. May says he was the same age as Kum is now at the time of the police raid which would make him 12 or 13, and Gwiyap 14 or 15. Mar says he was the same as May when Awa was born, but I doubt it. This would make him 22; I think he is nearer 18.

Revision

Gwiyap just went down and asked Yawa. She said that Kaiuakai was older than he, that she was the same age as May who is also older than Gwiyap. This is surprising, for Gwiyap is not only larger but has a few sprouts of hair, whereas May has none. I asked them the reason for this, and they explained it was because May was afraid of scraping himself with nettles. I wonder if "Grilly" (Wof) has anything to do with it. Awa is the same age as Gwiyap, but is larger than he.

The situation at the time of the raid was this: May was 5, Gwiyap and Kamakan were 4--Mar and Fit were six. Therefore, their ages now are: May 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mes is the same age as Mar.

000 May 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wanka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Fwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was
685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wof's
587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the
684 white men and died there --Awa, also of Sumwo Sumwo married his widow through
578 the operation of the levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife
582 of Hayamatamp, Wajumbei, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister-younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wof's house late at night and set fire to it. Wof did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tongwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife had died.

578 Gwiyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

● 123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marek and Koopyup came asking for theirs.

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a ngasa from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's ngasa. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Sombumdura. Fokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafe; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Owiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Gwanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Gwanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa-"nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Owiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Gwanta. She did not come last night. War, Way and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Sowinambi's. His wife is still sick.

863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent Way in search for him. Chinawa and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Owiyap and Way searched in vain but came back after a short while.

754 Hay and War came back from Sowinambi's reporting that his wife was sicker than ever, that nothing had happened except that Tongwishamp did not come up to talk at the meetings and so were suspected.

Heal and Kis stopped in and sat on my porch. I overheard them talking. Kis said his sore was due to poison, and he was sambo to all men now--the present company and his own brothers (only) excepted. Even Wof and Marok were under suspicion, and he was taboo to them also.

797 I came out and Heal and Kis began talking about missions saying that they betrayed the house tamberan by showing figures (sugilawas) to the women, and if the mission ever came to Hongwem, they would take their women and leave.

114 Mar and Hes had come back at noon. They had not slept at the station but at Hes' house. They brought butter, flour, four tins of meat, four of vegetables, no sugar or tobacco, or any news of Bob Overall.

123 685 Yat and Kar came up in the evening, and I began to talk about a tin of meat which had been stolen yesterday afternoon. Suspects: Kis, who was in the bedroom dressing his sore; Wof, who was at the house when I left Hay in charge yesterday afternoon; and Yat, who had gone by yesterday afternoon, and also because Qwiyap saw a tin of meat at his house. Yat did not have much to say, whereas the others harangued about their innocence, saying that they considered tinned meat to be human flesh and would not eat it (which was not true). They said it was not good to eat, and that they would give me all the sago I wanted if I liked it, etc. Hay first accused Kis, but War exonerated him, saying that he would have seen the tin if Kis had taken it. Wof was called on next, and he came up protesting vigorously. He said he was a big man and would not steal. War and Kar gave good alibis. Yat and Marok said they had gone right by the house to Sombundura and had come back after I had returned.

October 25, 1936.

*115 Mar is becoming tired of our continued questioning lately and will sometimes pretend not to hear us when we call him to verify the pronunciation of some word. He is apt to walk out of the room the minute we pause in our questioning. Yesterday we spent half an hour trying to get the Kwoma word for nose, but could not make him understand what we wanted although we tried innumerable methods of trying to obtain the information.

October 29, 1936.

[584] This afternoon Mar went up the hill for a while. When he returned he was quite excited and said he had been looking at a woman whom he might later have for a wife. He was dancing around with a broad grin on his face.

November 15, 1936.

[123] Lately Mar has taken to calling me papa. This happened after we arranged a kinship relation with Gwiyap, Hay and ourselves, but Mar has done this without suggestion from us.

Yesterday there was talk of a fight with Tongwishamp. Most of the Kwoma men were gathered to talk things over, but Mar did not go. We asked him why not and he was quite positive about not wanting to fight.

[114] The other evening Yat was in, and we talked of going to Yesan, a river tribe above Yambon. Gwiyap said he would take us there. We asked Mar if he would like to come, but he said no. When we went to Ambunti, Hay and Gwiyap wanted to go with us, but Mar again said he would stay and take care of our house. Neither did he want to go to Wogu (a tribe across the river we were planning to visit) with us.

November 17, 1936.

115 [584] [123] Mar asked me for a razor blade to give Aya. She has indicated that she wants to get married, and Mar feels he has a good chance of winning her. Aya is the daughter of War, who lives not far from Mar's house. War is a highly respected member of the sib, a man of about 50, and noted for sorcery. Aya [582] is an attractive girl of 17. Mar and Aya have no traceable common ancestor, so no incest rules apply to their relationship, but they are both members of the same sib, and marriage of such is definitely frowned upon.

November 21, 1936.

115 578 582 Just after I had gone to bed, Mar began shouting excitedly back and forth with someone down the mountainside. Then he came in and sat next to my bed. He explained that he had been arguing with War. The latter found out about Mar's intentions with Aya. He had just shouted angrily at Mar, "You stay away from my daughter. You are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry someone from the same sib?" When Mar told me this he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater." I reassured him. Mar then bit his underlip, raised his hand and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, saying, "That damn War! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" "It's too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." The fight did not eventuate. (War's objection to Mar as a husband for Aya was that they are members of the same sib, and such a marriage is frowned upon.)

November 29, 1936.

*115 [584] [123] A week or so ago Owiyap turned over a girl to Mar. She evidently did not like the exchange, for she told him that she would marry him only if he gave her a razor blade. Mar came to ask me for this. I asked if he wasn't going to give it to her, but he said, "No, tomorrow."

December 4, 1936.

*115 123 Fit ran up to us saying that Mar lay dying at the bush house. We packed medicine and made the arduous trip there as fast as we could. His fiancee and sisters were there, and Mar was lying on a bark bed moaning. He seemed unable to talk but only to groan inarticulately. We took his temperature which was normal and his pulse was slow but strong. We asked him where [754] the pain was, but he shook his head. His uncle diagnosed the case as sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies he will die, that's all." This elicted a groan from Mar. When we said that we had some medicine which would counteract sorcery, Mar lifted his head and looked at us. We gave him some eno's salts and then suggested going home as the bush house was damp and lonely. We tried to get him to stand up but with no success. We told him to lie down for a while first, which he did, remaining practically inarticulate but noticing everything that went on. If something happened behind him he would turn his head quickly to look at it. The only thing that seemed to cheer him at all was our saying that we were strong and poison could not hurt us or any of our friends. While we were still there, Mar sent Fit for nettle leaves. These he got and Mar arranged them in a sort of cone, held them in his hand, and blew in them for a while, muttering or whispering a sort of prayer or amortation. Then he approached Mar and told him to stand up. We helped him to his feet. Mar then rubbed the leaves first on Mar's chest and then on his legs. Mar gasped and his legs stiffened. He groaned a little but said nothing and made no attempt to stop the process.

*115 123 755

*115 123 [765] After the treatment he sat down again and resumed his moaning. Later Mar sent Fit into the bush for more and larger nettles. When Fit returned with them, Mar noticed him and put his hands up to us to be lifted up. After another rub down, Tip and I put his arms over our shoulders, one standing on either side of him, and started off. As the journey progressed we found he had to be supported less and less. We went slowly, stopping quite frequently to rest. The trip took two hours, and we were exhausted at the end. When we reached home, Mar slumped down on his sago bark bed and resumed his former state. We left him and went to visit again in the evening after Owiyap had come up saying he had had a relapse and wanted us to see him. When we arrived he was in about the same state as when we had first seen him at the bush house. We gave him three cascara pills and left. December 6,1936.

Yesterday Mar was better, but not much. He was lying on his bed and moaning. He had not had a bowel movement; his temperature was still normal. We gave him a dose of 4 teaspoons of epsom and rubbed his face, chest and back with ambrosia, to which he reacted in much the same manner as to the nettles. In the afternoon he was somewhat better. Owiyap reported that his bowels had moved and that he had eaten.

*115 787 This morning Owiyap came in and told us that Mar died during the night but then came alive again. The story he told was that during the night Mar had been visited by the ghost of his older brother who had told him to come to the land of the dead. Mar at this point called out to his mother, "Mother, come! My brother is here and I am going to die." His mother has a large ulcer on her foot and could not come down from the next house where

#115 she sleeps, but began to wail. Nof awoke at this and came with a torch
[787] to awaken us. He shouted at us near our house but we slept through it all. When I went to see Mar in the afternoon he was sitting up and seemed quite cheerful. He still talked very little and used no pidgin. While I was there he crawled out of the house and urinated. This he did on his hand and feet, belly up. I asked him why he did not stand and Owiyap quickly answered that he had a bad knee.

December 7, 1936.

The report today is that Mar is much better. Mar came around, and from him we learned that Mar's older brother was a "big man" before he died. At a ceremony his position was as high as that of Mar.

December 9, 1936.

#115 Yesterday Owiyap came to get me to treat Mar's leg. I went down to
● 123 find Mar asleep and had some trouble in waking him. He had a nasty surface
752 sore on his ankle. I swabbed it out with a solution of percuric potassium iodide and put a bandage with unguentine on it. He howled a good deal during the process but said nothing. Afterwards I fixed a little sore of Owiyap's and although he stood it much better, he squirmed a bit, and Mar laughed at this a little. I stayed for a while and he became more cheerful still saying practically nothing however.

#115 Today during the Mundik[1] episode Mar came hobbling up the hill leaning heavily on a walking stick to see what was going on. He went back after about

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1. Mundik was a young man who killed his wife and, seeking refuge at Wuakuk, was beaten by them and nearly killed for attending a ceremony without having the proper credentials (i.e., kaloids of manhood). They consider him to be insane.

*115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Ambunti with Gwiyap, Yat, Ham and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbims.

[123] [657]

January 17, 1937.

[584] Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to War, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked War directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had His act as go-between.

[123] The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Gwiyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried

[436] [583] [123]

[123]

*115 [123] unsuccessfully to get from me.

*115 583 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] [464] [583] [476] [614] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.
January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Gwiyap, Hamb, Mey and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.
January 26, 1937.

[123] [154] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later [241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mes who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Namb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Yamben and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Namb would shoot a'gouris' for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Namb [461] would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that [241] he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by Gwiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Gwiyap and Mey said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 5, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Gwiyap, Awa, and Ewiya there to finish [787] it. He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating [123] him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the

*115 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot
787 of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough.
602 He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left them to get
753 it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 When Kar, Afok , Fokotay, Dewangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and
[754] Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerised and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid
156 on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said,
[648] "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he
[123] were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

April 15, 1937.

*115 Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mowimbwi, Gwanta
584 and Pambe to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish.
[123] Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again War if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it
582 was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

*115 157 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent [191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned *115 593 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second 736 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young-- his mother killed in an incident with the Tengwishamps. He was carried *115 553 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His name was given him by the Halus with whom he stayed after the raid. His mother had named him Woyshokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 726 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the house tamberan for a long time. The Hongwan hid in the house except for a few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his 'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then, when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 123 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

*115 put his arm around me repeating, "Oh, master! Greetings!" several times.
● 123 Mar's two sisters and three female children were around, and it may have
[526] been partly to show off to them. Such action fits in with Kwoma culture,
[522] in which embracing is the form of greeting. I asked Gwiyap if one of the little girls were his nine (girl), intending to kid him, but he said, "No," and carefully explained her relationship to him. He was perfectly serious in this. I tried the same thing with May, with the same result; so apparently such kidding is not done in this culture. On the way back, Gwiyap carried the rifle and led the procession although Wof, Mar and Marok, all older than he, were present.

October 21, 1936.

*115 He came in this morning, and we asked him for some words, which he
648 gave us. Then, unbidden, he told us a story of a hanging he had seen several years before (three, according to Haub). Some of the natives of Madeyakwa, a village in the bush behind Avatip, had wounded a police boy in the leg with a spear. The "kiap" had punished them by hanging seven of them and had brought in natives from the surrounding villages to observe this so that it would be an example to them. This is the second time he had volunteered stories of the killing of natives by white men. This time, as before, he told the story animatedly, as if he were telling a very interesting and exciting bit of news.

October 28, 1936.

*115 124 [123] Gwiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and May bothhbegan helping around the house, and since Haub is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Gwiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a nambe (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Then we asked him to draw a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 593 Today we told Gwiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Gwiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Gwiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Gwiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Gwiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

#115 787 all and he said "yes." He got a bit irritated at me after I had asked him several time but finally he told me of a dream which he had had several nights before and which he had already told to Tip. In this dream he had seen his father with a great many yams, coconuts, bananas, etc. His father was carrying them back to the cemetery to eat. He also had a large cup in which to cook the food. Owiyap was looking on, and the smell of death was very strong, "all the same big fella pek pek" (like a big pile of feces). His father began eating his food and with it the bones of dead men. Then Owiyap remembered another fragment which was about large dogs with hands and feet. They were climbing up coconut trees and throwing down the fruit. Then he saw a lot of dead men--people he did not know, who had died long ago. They were big men just like "you two fella masta", and were going in a sort of procession up to their dwelling place on the top of a mountain. I asked him if there were any women in the dream, but he said no. The people live in a great tree with a hole in the bottom of it.
November 10, 1936.

[123] Last night Owiyap had a dream in which he and Tip and I were walking over to Sasarman. (Tip had actually walked over that way yesterday afternoon). When we arrived, Owiyap warned us that the Sombindura were coming for us with spears to kill us. Tip, however, had his .22. That was all he could remember. At it occurred yesterday, he became irritated when I asked him if there were any more.
November 14, 1936.

#115 123 The day before yesterday, I was fooling around in front of the house with some of the kids. I was pretending to fight with Owiyap. Once when my back was turned, he hit me with the flat of his hand. I turned around quickly and started to chase him--laughing and shouting the while. We scrambled down the mountainside, onto a path which led down the mountain

*115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
• 123 the mud for footing. Gwiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Gwiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

587 This morning Wof married Gwiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
*115 it the night before, and Gwiyap must have know his intentions. When Gwiyap
787 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757] night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[304] natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrised at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, but that he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanka" (one of the ghosts of dead Hongwum).

November 29, 1936.

*115 883 584 About a week ago Gwiyap and Tip were down at the market place watching the women trading. A girl came up to Gwiyap and talked with him. He then told Tip that she wanted to marry him, but that he had refused and said he was too young to have a wife. Later in the day it turned out that he had turned his option on her over to Mar. In telling me about the situation he said that plenty of girls wanted to marry him but that he was not interested.

The night before last he dreamed of a great deal of food being brought to him in a mat bag.

*115 836 • 123 Yesterday when I was talking to him, I asked if he had ever had intercourse. He was noncommital, "Me no savvy"; I mentioned that I had, and to make it sound convincing, listed several names. He was very much interested and wanted to know if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him we kept it secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that we had a machine to prevent that. That evening when he came up after supper I began pumping him about ghosts and as soon as there was a lull in the conversation he broke in with a tale of his escapades. He named three girls, three of them from his sib, as well as Mar's sister, with whom he had had intercourse--both in the bush and in the house. He told this in great glee and added, "Fashion belong me all the same you"(my customs are the same as yours). When he told me of Mar's sister, he made me promise not to tell Mar about it.

*115 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall.
• 123 Neither Gwiyap nor May likes this. They said that ghosts would come.
715 I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Gwiyap to come, but Gwiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Hamb. I asked Gwiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a "monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

* 115 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwem again to sign on boys. Gwiyap
648 is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is
464 looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.

December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Gwiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinuwa. Gwiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.

According to Gwiyap /Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinuwa and Way's wife know a little about it. These are the only persons in Rumbim who can be possessed by spirits.

December 9, 1936.

*115 The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his
● 123 temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him
to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual,
[753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and
he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next
day, he was all right.

578 There is some talk of a feud between Nowel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap.
*115 Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and
he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Nowel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap's yuka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister
[736] Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to
a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If
he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.
[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to
have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her
husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others.
Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.
[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uka,
it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalization of normal inheritance).
Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking our for Uka.

*115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

*115 752 * 123 657 The sore on Gwiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Gwiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Feilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a g, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137 241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

March 4, 1937.

*115 787 • 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

* 115 572 765 Owiyap inherited Yatafauf as a naremboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naremboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kawas came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for Mey's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

* 115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sunge kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 3, 1937.

838 191 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

*115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Eriya or Awe, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both nwa (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her nawa or nevelaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

*115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

*115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

*115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Yumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

*115 787 Way, having stuck the spear through the body of dead woman, carried her down to the water and threw her away. Then Gwiyap, Way, and his whole family ran away into the bush and came to a yam house. (Gwiyap's mother's name was Kowabwas, which means 'no yams'.) They sat down in this and made a fire. Way's wife inquired whose garden it was and said there must be a man about, so they left and went to their own garden in the bush. Way's two daughters got some tiny little bush bananas (gamba yofu). The mother carried a little pot-- "just like the one on your table" -- and they made soup. Then they walked through grassland. Way said they were going to a place where there were men who had taken heads. Nerik, their son, began to cry and was very afraid, but they kept on until they came to a mereslai dwelling place where they became afraid and turned back. Next they came to the edge of a 'round water', where they saw a canoe which Gwiyap wanted to take. Way said that it belonged to someone else who would fight them if they took it, but Gwiyap said, "Never mind", and took Gwanta across and then returned to get the rest. They then came to Malu. The Malus asked what they were doing their and were told they were hiding from the "kiop" because they had killed the master at Waskuk. ("This dream is about you.") The Malus said it would be all right--that they would hide them. Gwanta and Gwiyap returned to their bush house, leaving Way and the others behind. They stayed there and Gwanta killed a gouria pigeon with her hands and made soup of it which they ate. Then Gwiyap went to defecate and came all the way to my house when he woke up.

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*115 648 123 829 After reporting the dream, he said that he did not like the idea of the head hunting raid-- that he thought he would go to America with me. He thought this place would be 'shot up' by the police again.